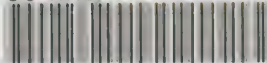


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**BRUNO CHAP BOOKS**

**YADAKICHI HARTMANN**

**Permanent Peace:**

**is it a Dream?**

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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# BRUNO CHAP BOOKS

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## Permanent Peace: Is it a Dream?

By Sadakichi Hartmann

WHOEVER has strolled through the palace of Versailles, through the endless picture galleries, one suite of rooms following the other, filled with nothing but battle paintings and military scenes, mostly of enormous size and mediocre workmanship, must have felt weary and amazed, a dull sort of irritation and indignation, at this waste of effort and this persistent glorification of warfare. But a sojourn in Berlin proves even more nauseating in this respect. On every square, at the end of every thoroughfare looms some soldier monument, equestrian figure, victory column; entire avenues are flanked with portrait statues of former war heroes, as if the population were devoted exclusively to the worship of Mars and Bellona. Even we, an unmilitary though not necessarily more peace-loving nation (we have a record of eighteen wars and disturbances), insist on dotting out parks and squares with hard bronzen statues of military men, while poets, scientists, statesmen and philanthropists are thrown in only occasionally for good measure.

There is something strangely inconsistent about this homage to fighting men, when we consider the troubled times of the past whenever violence became a necessity and the joy over victories was mingled with sorrow and suffering. It seems that the fascination is primarily one of the senses. We all are fond of show and parades, bunting and flags, brass band and shouting, the excitement of the crowd. The accustomed measures of march music and patriotic airs affect us like some physical stimulant; and there is something irresistible in a man in uniform to women, which even Bourget could not explain. As for actual service! It is not fancied quite as much. How many of our German population have left home and fatherland to evade compulsory service! Still, there seem to be at all times plenty of young men who fancy an adventurous existence, and prefer to be provided for instead of trying to make their own career. For her colonial warfare Great Britain has no difficulty in recruiting a sufficient number of volunteers, and there is no gainsay that Tommy Atkins is the genuine soldier, by entering the service voluntarily and regarding it as a regular profession, and that there is something fascinating

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wild and strange in the pursuit. American recruiting is less successful because it lacks the glamor, change and excitement of British service.

Yet no man, and woman still less, in times of peace, reasoning logically, would deny that war is a terrible calamity. There they lie in trenches opposite each other, their feet in mud, exposed to rain, heat and cold, fed like Spartans, shooting away at some unknown opponent and shot at again in return, frequently killed or maimed for life without having seen the enemy. What are their thoughts during the long nightwatches lit up only with searchlights, rockets and fiery shells?

They have no interest at stake in this mole work, no cause at issue in these endless attacks and counter attacks, no passion or hatred to gratify. They are mostly men from the ordinary walks of life, torn away from their humble vocations, forced to leave their family, women, old folks and children, to shift for themselves. They are summoned to the fields by the authorities and now set their hearts against bayonets and by command press madly to some battery's blazing tier.

Is there anything more unjust than to have women give life to male offspring, to rear them to manhood, merely to see them march away to be killed from afar just as if they were cattle raised for the slaughter house.

And what atones for the mother's agony, for starvation and destitution, for homes destroyed by shell and fire, for children sent adrift and outraged daughters?

But is it not all for the glory of the nation, for the defense of the flag, for the protection of the home, for self preservation, liberty, safety, future welfare! So they are told, and the name of the dead soldier is used to glorify the bloody deeds of war, that others may follow without questioning.

Why are wars fought? There are now eleven countries engaged in war, more may be drawn into it at any moment.

Can any layman discern and explain the different sources from whence the present events have taken rise!

The Germans are said to fight for their country, for the defeat of Pan Slavism, the Allies for self preservation, to subdue German militarism. One could just as well assert that they fight for the control of China. And so each nation claims to have been forced into it and to fight for the right, while they compete in reality for commercial supremacy. War is the logical result of eager competition. Whenever a nation is becoming too powerful, and endangering the money and trade interests of other countries, a declaration of war is brought about, to balance matters and to stop progress, momentarily at least, where it is not wanted. Goods made in Germany have been too successful not to arouse envy. In a few years the scale of events may turn, and they may be all fighting Russia. Just as Japan will be engaged in a prolonged series of wars in the East. Japan needs trade expansion as acutely as its

daily rations of fish and rice. So does China, Siam, Nepal and the various dependencies, but Japan is best prepared to exert itself, it wants to reap the harvest and will not mind a few campaigns of conquest if seriously opposed.

Wars are invariably fought for strictly material reasons. It is claimed that wars are no longer possible for pure purposes of conquest, or the gratification of the whims of some potentate. Is there such a great difference between kings and ruling parties, between conquest and trade or colonial expansion. Only the pretext has been changed. Although humanity is sodden with the pursuit of gain, a population might not be quite as obedient about going to war, if the reasons urged made not some direct appeal to humanitarian sentiment. There must be a pretext, in the form of an ethical excuse. As to the real cause the masses remain in the dark. It is secret history. War is arranged in financial circles with the co-operation of the military party and international diplomacy. The money interests are in the hands of the few, thus it is capitalism that instigates war, just as the Church and Imperialism in former centuries. The *casus belli*, like the assassination of the Austrian archduke, at Serajevo, the Ems' despatch, the firing in Fort Sumter, the blowing up of the Maine, is never more than an incident. The honor of a nation does not allow such or such a thing to occur, war agitation has generally preceded it, so it is comparatively easy when the moment is ripe to stir up war sentiment and to conceal the real cause, which often originates from no purer source than human passions and selfish motives.

The crusaders marched to Palestine, no doubt, many of them with true religious fanaticism. It had been artificially aroused. It furnished the pretext, to put an end to occasional Christian massacres and to regain the possession of the Sepulchre. But the real motive of pontiff and princes was to oppose the progress of the Ottomans and to enrich themselves, in short an invasion of conquest and aggrandisement.

Even in wars of independence, it can hardly be said that war is forced upon a country. If abuses in a dependency exist and continue, become insufferable, if there is no redress, then the oppressed community is forced to organize its power for defense in such a way as is most likely to secure its safety and happiness for the future. Undoubtedly, but the causes are strictly material and flow from sources troubled by both parties. The outbreak was the result of preceding periods of incubation and evolution. The English from modest demands in the beginning widened their program of exploitation more boldly and shamelessly every year. The more powerful party is always destined to play the part of the usurper. We, on the other hand, conceived the necessity of changes, moderate at first, but gradually desired for more thorough and deeper changes. Humble remonstrances changed into revolutionary demands. It was im-

possible to remain indifferent. Little by little the majority was imbued with the spirit of revolt, and the result was war.

And the cause of our secession war! Freedom for the slaves was the avowed object of the abolitionist agitation, while beneath it lurked an unusually vehement party strife of politicians. The South had been the most powerful factor in politics. The Northern party leaders coveted this same power. The discontent over the supposed advantages the South derived from the maintenance of slavery also did not help matters. Decked out with humanitarian appeals abolition was made the ostensible issue. The Secessionists resented this and advocated disunion. Through the Missouri Compromise the States were geographically divided, and the long threatened outbreak finally came because both parties (not the masses) could not restrain themselves any longer. The trouble had been brewing for forty years.

Was Pacific abolition an absolute impossibility? Even "barbaric" Russia in 1857 accomplished the liberation of the serfs in a peaceful manner. Was it done for the sake of humanitarian principles? Hardly. It was the dread of a violent peasant uprising. There had been so many peasant insurrections that it was thought wisest to make the sacrifice. In Russia it was the nobility, a small minority, versus the entire farming population, while here were two parties, equally unprepared and equally resourceful. Both parties felt too strong to make any concessions. The inevitable result was war.

If it is true that the hostilities of nations are prompted by material contrivances, each war should prove its economic justification. This seems to be difficult to believe, when we consider the enormous war loans and the decline of exports. Take the case of any of the belligerent countries. Each country has been selling to all the countries she is fighting. The idea that a nation could possibly gain foreign trade by fighting some of her biggest customers, cutting off a considerable percentage of its business seems to be visionary. But it works merely like an investment on a gigantic scale. The momentary losses and the expenditure represent the investment. War means to the victor new openings and opportunities to increase national wealth and prestige. To lose the war is the risk that is run. But even vanquished nations, if not entirely annihilated and annexed, have a wonderful recuperating power. Look at France after the Franco German war, with its World's Exposition in 1878.

The individual is only indirectly a beneficiary. But the strengthening, development, expansion of the material resources of a nation can not be censured as being a guilty or vain ambition. What would have happened if we had lost the Independence war. Another war and another war until we had bought our freedom by roll of cannon and clash of arms. It is now a proposition so remote that it is difficult even to imagine



it. But we are proud that it has happened and consider it worth all the sacrifices that were made for it. And there lies the deep rooted trouble, if a victorious nation is a beneficiary, the chances for a world's peace become very nebulous indeed.

But the human mind is obstinate, if there must be wars as there apparently have to be and the individual can do nothing to prevent them, it insists at least on "civilized warfare." By this is meant Red Cross service and relief funds, a more rational treatment of war prisoners, the regulation of shipping, the safety of neutrals, armistices to bury the dead, the prohibition of sacking evacuated towns, of killing the wounded and firing on civilians, and all those principles that have been decided upon at the Geneva Conventions to regulate the conduct of an army during war and that are supposed somewhat to ameliorate evils. It is of no avail. Civilized warfare is a paradox. Warfare, premeditated wholesale slaughter can not be civilized. To send battle ships with their entire crew to the bottom of the sea, to sacrifice an entire regiment in storming an entrenchment, without any special purpose, to have it retaken by the enemy on the morrow, to bombard towns and to fight big battles where the casualties run into the hundred thousands are in the words of Voltaire not the work of God but of the devil, some sinister Siwa bent on cruel, merciless destruction. There is no difference whether one is clubbed down with a morning star and pierced by a halberd, or torn to pieces by shrapnel and throttled by asphyxiating gas. One is as barbarous as the other. Only modern war has become more *scientifically* cruel. The muscular strength has dwindled down to naught.

As for atrocities: atrocities, acts of savagery, cross violations of rules have occurred in every war, and non-combatants in invaded territories are naturally the scapegoats. But war in itself is such an outrage and atrocity that all minor incidents of executions and the killing of neutrals seem trivial beside it. The writer was brought up on atrocity tales of horrible mutilations of wounded and dead supposed to have been perpetrated by Zouaves and Turcos on the Franco-German battle fields. It is more than likely that they were not tales but approximating the truth. Society, even by the infliction of the death penalty, can not abolish murder. How then can one expect that, when men are sent deliberately to slaughter each other, some will not give full vent to their latent murderous instincts and commit heinous crimes just for the sake of committing them, and even gloat over their bloody deeds. But do not blame the offender, the commanding officer or even the nation too harshly, blame the cause and not the effect.

Of course, if it comes to methods of warfare that violate the rights of neutrals, it certainly is proper to demand their discontinuance. Still, if a nation is in sole possession of an effective instrument of destruction that constitutes one of its most powerful and successful weapons, it will surely not be

abandoned as long as the particular war lasts in which it was first introduced. Wars are fought to do as much damage as possible. The more fatal a weapon is the better it serves the purpose. That such instruments will be denounced as inhuman by those against whom they are employed is only natural. But as long as Zeppelins and submarines were not in operation when the existing international agreements that should govern war were made, any new rules pertaining to them can not be decided upon before the end of the war. Protests of course can be made but they can be settled only diplomatically unless the injured nation also wishes to enter a state of war with the offender.

Most futile of all is the indignation over the destruction of architectural landmarks like the cathedral of Rheims. I never knew that people cared so much for art in times of peace. I am assuredly a worshipper of art, but I cannot persuade myself that the destruction of the Rheims cathedral, so marvelously beautiful, is a more deplorable incident than the grief of a single mother who has lost all her sturdy fullgrown sons in battle. The loss of inanimate things can not be compared to human suffering. And if all the monuments ever erected, all the pictures ever painted, all the architectural masterpieces of the world were destroyed regrettable as these losses would be they would not exceed in importance the lives that were lost. There are enough artists at all times eager to assert themselves. Let them sculpt, let them paint, let them build. Do not deny them the chance. What we need in art is a live interest, contemporary sympathy, not the affected curiosity of tourists' appreciation.

It is always the non-combatant who indulges in inflammatory rhetoric, who denounces and decries. This is quite natural, the real combatants are kept busy with dodging shrapnel and hand grenades while the non-combatants insist on an outlet for their wrought up sympathies. They can not help beating up antagonism, for perfect neutrality is an impossibility. It is possible only to absolute stoicism or philosophical indifference. Zenos and sceptics are scarce everywhere, and in this country we are all so called hyphenated Americans, and must take sides with one nationality or the other. Perfect amalgamation is impossible after the age of twenty-one, and nobody can forget his ancestry even in the second and third generation. The memories of childhood, personal habits, customs, food, environment, acquired knowledge, inherited traits and inclinations will forge to the surface and assert their rights. And to be proud of the home of our parents, of the country where we were born and perhaps also educated, do not these emotions constitute the principal germs of the feeling of patriotism? If it is true that even a naturalized German remains a good deal of a German, and a Russian a good deal of a Russian, we can only respect them for this steadfastness of

sentiment. The bonds which hold aliens to a newly adopted country are not quite as subtle and deep, they are governed by duty, by reasoning, the oath of allegiance and not so much by sentiment.

The the inconsistencies of war talk and argument are plausible enough. Deplorable is only their lack of intelligence and quiet firmness. It is astonishing what proofs of ignorance and narrow mindedness are offered by some of our citizens who in their daily harrangues indulge in sixteen inch verbs to hurl highly explosive adjectives against their adversaries.

Nobody in war times can be trusted for absolute impartiality. Even literary men are not to be relied upon. They are swayed too much by their temperament, the picturesqueness of events and their particular theories. Has not Napoleon been lauded to the sky by Byron and Heine, and utterly damned by Hugo and Tolstoi? Poets are too often the echo of public sentiment, and too easily influenced to show off their talent in inflammatory odes and denunciatory lyrics. The majority of our New England poets turned rabid abolitionists, even studious Lowell, and coldly reasoning Emerson, and Whittier (most extraordinary for a Quaker) shouted himself almost hoarse in his *Voices of Freedom*.

But there are higher and nobler strains of thought, namely those which emanate from religion and philosophy.

If there is a higher standard of the principles of humanity and justice, which according to most religious writings from the *Zend Avesta* to *Christian Science* should govern the conduct of man and which mankind has accepted for guidance, would we not come to the conclusion that war is absolutely uncondonable, that it does not matter what nation wins, as the victor as well as the opponent has contributed a crimson stain on the tattered pages of the history of human progress. What has become of the ideal of the brotherhood of man! Does not the doctrine *Love Thy Neighbor As Thyself* sound like a travesty in the state of present events! Does it not tread profanely on the cherished scrolls of law and creed!

We are prone to put the blame on one individual, while indirectly and from the viewpoint of the highest tribunal, we all are equally at fault. There is too much of the wolf, the fox, the hog in all of us, in Mr. Rockefeller, as well as in you, kind reader, and the writer of these lines. We ourselves, each of us, should aspire to a better, saner and nobler life, some soul state more liberal, more forgiving, less selfish, before we can justly criticise the ebb and flow of human events.

Humanity must reach a stage where the individual impulse towards good, towards mutual support and peaceful settlement of differences will be voiced by the masses. When compulsory enrollment and levy in mass will be opposed by a vast majority, when recruiting offices will stand empty and arsenals lie desolate, when the cannons will be buried among roses (as we

see in the painting of Wiertz in Brussels) and no ship will leave port except on a peaceful errand.

Unpractical, wandering thoughts, no doubt, but they were shared by some of the profoundest thinkers, as Kant, Hugo, Grotius, Leibnitz, Voltaire, Lessing, Herder, Bentham, who were all peace propagandists.

On the other hand there were always some master minds who endorsed the doctrine of revenge, of eye for eye, and like for like. Tacitus, the historian, believed in the educational discipline of war, and Hegel, the German philosopher, saw in permanent peace a state of deterioration, of lethargy and effeminacy. A trend of thought which found perhaps its most drastic expression in the words of von Moltke "Universal peace is a dream and not even a beautiful one. War is an element of the world system as ordained by God. The noblest virtues are unfolded thereby."

It can not be denied that some of the finer passions of man, as valor enthusiasm, occasional outbursts of heroism, defiance of death are called forth by warfare. It also fosters a regulated simplicity of life and a temporary feeling of equality. Cast is forgotten. There are no longer Algerians, Cambodians, Senegalese, Madagascans, only Frenchman. Autonomy is proclaimed for some downtrodden dependency. It is also said to produce new values and to consume the surplus. The advantages of these developments is more doubtful. Could not the first condition be brought about much more effectively by higher wages and cheaper prices, a more democratic distribution of products. Besides it is a fallacy that war accomplishes anything like that. Socialists and labor leaders realize this only too keenly, and the conflict between capital and labor is smouldering beneath the very smoke of war. And how can we reconcile the glory of motherhood and opposition to race suicide with the theory that the world is over populated and that some means have to be found to take away the surplus. Are these not sickening inconsistencies!

Another ethical excuse for war is the establishment of a world's empire. Mohammed believed in subjugation by force, in order to mould mankind into one race with one language, one religion and one God. This ideal of one shepherd and one flock was also the dream of the Pontiff, but in reality little more than a much abused policy. And thus it came to pass that Caliphs, German Emperors and Popes engaged for centuries in warfare. And as lasting supremacy could not be accomplished by the sword, it was the cause of incessant fighting. Even legion-haunted Rome pretended to hope for universal peace when its boundaries had extended as far as Parthenia, Aethiopea, Germania and Sarmatia. Yet the time never came when the temple of Janus could have been closed for good. Nor was the House of Hapsburg more successful in its days of prime when it endeavored to control Germany, Italy, Hun-

gary, the Netherlands, Spain, a part of Africa and the two Indies by means of a universal monarchy. The process of amalgamation, necessary for such a stupendous task, is of too slow a growth, and the yeast of a bitter kind. Also Napoleon persuaded himself that universal peace was the ultimate aim of his wars of conquest. Who would not tremble at such a savior and self ordained preservator of civilization. He may have been a necessary factor in the development of the human race, but was it worth the sacrifice? During his reign the death rate increased by millions. Thousands of habitations were pillaged and burnt and every field within the vast fighting areas was ploughed deep with hurrying hoofs and wheels and sown with shot. Not to speak of the vagabondage, libertinism and disdain for human property and life which always follows in the wake of war.

Whenever there is a war there is much talk about permanent peace and the enforcement of peace and a renewed activity towards getting the nations of the world together and to make peace a natural and practically permanent state. World organization of this kind is not a new idea. The problem of international peace has occupied the thoughts of many statesmen and pacifist thinkers. Abbe de Saint Pierre, with his plan for perpetual peace, published in 1713, was its first advocate. In this century the Quakers were particularly active. William Allen and later Elihu Burrett founded peace Societies, which helped considerably to bring about the Peace Conventions at Brussels, Paris, Frankfort, London, Edinburgh, etc., during the years 1848-53. Count Cellon, in Geneva, made propoganda for the cause by opening a correspondence with European rulers in 1830. The most important and scientific work in this direction, however, was done by the Institut de Droite International, a private society, which has made a speciality of the study of international law and published a code of regulations relating to peace tribunals.

The idea has also found various expressions recently in the States: the World Court Congress at Cleveland, Ex-President Taft's League to Enforce Peace, David Starr Jordan's peace resolutions, besides a number of peace societies throughout the country including the Peace and Arbitration Society, which at one time had as officers Roosevelt and Dewey and the banker who made the Japanese war loan as treasurer, which impresses one as a rather humorous coincidence.

It is due to these agitations that several international disputes were settled peacefully, as for instance, the Alabama trouble between England and the States which was settled by an arbitral court in Geneva, 1877, and the dispute over the Baring Sea Seal Fisheries, the decision of which was left to a Paris tribunal, in 1893. But it can hardly be claims that these proceedings prevented war.

Treaties and peace alliances have hitherto proven of little

value. If nations make and sign treaties, one should think that they considered themselves in honor bound to keep them. But they rarely do if the clauses are in any way inconvenient to the ruling parties. A loophole is readily found, and if it were naught but a claim that to uphold the treaty would be false to the best traditions of the country. The lies of a nation are less tangible than those of an individual, and it is hardly credible that arbitration treaties would fare any better.

Complete disarmament, as advocated by extreme pacifists, with the issuing neutrality, no doubt, would prove a most effective measure for the securing of universal peace. But what is the use of arguing about something that is not feasible. Only minor powers might agree to such a pact, the larger powers could not afford it as they would not trust each other. The present tendency is rather to watch each other, and to work in secrecy for some new death dealing invention which assures increase of power and national security. Partial disarmament is more reasonable, but even when it is agreed upon it does not prove reliable, as shown by the competitive building of dreadnoughts which England and Germany tried to reduce to a minimum for a number of years. In the meanwhile, submarines, an unknown quantity, were perfected and upset the whole calculation.

Nations have to remain armed and in a state of proper national defense, or their voice in peace promotion would hardly be listened to. The old maxim *Si vis pacem, para bellum* is still the wisest way to maintain peace. Our fortunate geographical position has hitherto enabled us to neglect our land forces, whether this policy can be followed in the future is open to conjecture. The introduction of the latest instruments of war with their distance devouring capacity should prompt us to make reasonable provisions for a regular army and coast defense as well as a navy.

As for the point blank refusal to serve, either by individuals or special sects, there is little hope for any telling result as long as the majority can be swayed by war sentiment. The trouble is that although ordinarily we shudder at the thought of war, and are filled with sympathy over the vicissitudes of belligerent nations, we become war mad ourselves, as soon as we hear the inspiring rattle of patriotic drums. We may join at the start with reluctance and doubtful enthusiasm, but we are soon changed by the sanguinary spirit of war. Fanatics on that question, like the Quakers and Mennonites, and the Raskolnikans in Russia, who actually refused to be conscribed, were forced into submission—the New York draft riot in 1863 furnishes a caustic example—and even peace apostles like Burrett and Cobden preferred to work theoretically rather than to agitate open opposition. Even the anarchists who profess to

believe in no authority, apparently can not escape the authority of patriotism.

Ex-President Taft's idea of a league to enforce peace, although paradoxical in term, shows some clear and logical thinking. The League, as its primary and fundamental principle, advocates an agreement between the leading countries of the world not to enter upon any state of war before they have submitted the justiciable issues of international controversies to an arbitral court, and the non-justiciable, diplomatic and ethical, issues to a commission of conciliation. Thus, if any member of the League went to war with any other member of the League, before submitting to the opportunities of peaceful settlement, all the other members (as neutrals have a direct interest in preventing war) would be obliged to defend the attacked nation by their united forces. Henry IV, and his minister, Sully, entertained such a project in their Peace League of Christian Nations. The problem, as naturally a general participation would be indispensable to assure any results, is, to persuade all the great powers in joining such a agreement. If one nation would refuse, the whole structure would tumble to the ground. And one had to be of very optimistic disposition to believe that all governments could be made to participate. A technical excuse will easily be found. When the Holy Alliance between the monarchs of Russia, Austria and Prussia in 1815, endeavored to establish a similar union of European rulers, England excused itself because the word of a ruler was not considered as binding for the entire interests of a nation. And Turkey, a much more formidable power than it is just now, was not asked at all. Thus the alliance was merely, what it perhaps meant to be, a temporary contract between a few rulers. For us it would mean departure from our valued traditional policy of not entering into European controversies, which no doubt, would find rugged opposition in some quarters. And what would happen if the tribunal could not come to a satisfactory decision, as for instance, in the Mexican Peace Conference in Niagara Falls, 1914? Or if the nation which considered itself injured would lose patience, as the League machinery might work too slow, could war be still avoided? How would it work? Suppose a nation would attack and invade another, the other of course, had to defend itself, and thereupon all the other nations would be on the side of the attacked power and send troops for assistance. How quickly could such troops be mobilized? Would it not take considerable time before the advantages gained by the invading army could be annulled? And would it frighten a Frederick the Great, a Napoleon, or the ruling parties of such a nation into early peace overtures? Does not Germany fight four of its neighbors now? No, the result

would be a new imbroglio, another world's war. There exists at least the danger of such an issue.

Nevertheless, the idea of a permanent international court of justice, a council of the nations, and an international police (or rather army) seems to be the most plausible to aspire to. How these things will come about, or how, is not so much the question, as the existence of such a desire in the mind of man. And it may be true that it would require but a slight development in the laws of international relations to assert the right of arbitration as a duty towards the welfare of the human race.

The introduction of an international police looks particularly well on paper. Just as we maintain peace in a community, peace might be kept among the nations. The members of a community wish to be protected from nuisance, theft, assault and maintain a police for the defense of a peace to this purpose. Former disturbances as *Fehde* and *Vendetta*, tribal feuds and religious persecutions belong to the past or are under control in most countries. And just as merchants, shipmasters and others within some ports have an arbitral court to go to for the hearing and prompt settlement of controversies, nations should have a world's tribunal. Yet the troubles of nations are more intricate than the squabbles of individuals, or even the internal differences of a state or province.

Other difficulties lie in establishing an arbitral court with sufficient executive power to enforce the realization of its verdicts; and the selection of the right kind of judges, honest, learned and influential men, enthusiastically absorbed in their task beyond any party interests, not unlike the *podesta* of medieval Italy, who enjoyed absolute jurisdiction within their allotted township, but who were forced to live unmarried and isolated with their retinue, not coming into contact with anybody during their official term, to assure absolute impartiality of judgment.

There is still another method that might bring about the desired solution. To declare war is still the privilege of the supreme heads of governments or representative bodies. Why not leave the decision, whether a war is wanted or not, to a vote of the entire population, in a similar manner as communities vote on questions of prohibition. Universal suffrage should be applied to dispel the warclouds, as Kant has argued in his treatise. "Zum Ewigen Frieden," so that the responsibility of devastations by flame and steel would be equally shared by each citizen. Surely the individual who has to do the fighting and to pay the war taxes has a right in the matter. In what direction would the masses turn the trembling scale, war or peace. It is more than likely that in most cases, particularly if women were allowed to participate, the result of the ballot would be a decided nay.

All we who are inclined that way, can do at present is to



think and argue peace. The advocates of peace at any price, offer peace with honor, or those who wish to enforce peace by consultation or opposition, are all working for a good cause. Let the good work go on. It will help to burn into the hearts of the people that there are better ways than war to settle international disputes.

Of course, talk alone is futile. The task demands special exploitation, a special type of men who combine the knowledge of international law of a Bluntschli with practical statesmanship, who know how to trace the origin of events and conditions and who understand to apply these observations practically to those international distempers they would be called to cure.

It will advance at least—what the world has heeded at all times—a better understanding among nations, a closer adherence to mutual support and a warmer realization of the unity of human interests irrespective of boundaries.

The juncture for more friendly relations among nations is now as favorable as at any other time.

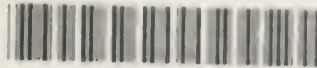












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